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Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of the Brāhmaṇa literature.—By Professor HANNS OERTEL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Second Series:¹ I. Saramā and the Paṇis.

Rig-Veda x. 108, with its spirited dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis, belongs to that class of epic hymns to which attention was first drawn by Windisch,² and which since then has been very fully treated by Oldenberg³ under the name of *ākhyāna*-hymns, and by Geldner and Pischel⁴ under the name of *itihāsa*-hymns. But of the frame-story which formed the setting of the dialogue we know but little. The Bṛhaddevatā (ed. R. Mitra, viii. 24 ff.=p. 221), to be sure, gives in twelve stanzas a brief outline of which the essential points are these: The Paṇis, a class of Asuras, living beyond the river Rasā, steal and hide Indra's cows. Bṛhaspati sees their hiding-place and, on his information, Indra sends Saramā in quest of the cows. Being asked by the Paṇis about her errand, she tells them that she has come in search of Indra's cows. "Never mind the cows," the Paṇis reply, "stay here as our sister" (*mā sarame gās tvam ihā 'smākaṁ svasā bhava*). Saramā, while she rejects this offer and other gifts, declares herself willing to be bribed into silence by a draught of the milk of the hidden cows (*nā 'ham icchāmi svasṛ-tvaṁ vā dhanāni vā | pibeyaṁ tu payas tāsāṁ gavāṁ yās tā nigū-hatha*). After this wish has been gratified, she again crosses the Rasā and returns to Indra. Indra asks her: "Hast thou seen the cows?" And she, at the instigation of the Asuras, replies: "No." Thereupon Indra in wrath beats her. She, terror-stricken and throwing up the milk, runs back to the Paṇis. But Indra, following the track of the milk, drives against the Paṇis, slays them, and recovers the cows (*papracche 'ndraṣ ca saramāṁ kaccid gā dṛṣṭavaty asi | sā ne'ti pratyuvāce 'ndram prabhāvād āsurasya*

¹ The First Series appeared in Vol. xviii. pp. 15-48.

² *Verhandlungen d. 33. Versammlung deutscher Philologen, etc., in Gera*, 1879, p. 28.

³ ZDMG. xxxvii. 54, and especially xxxix. 52.

⁴ *Vedische Studien*, i. 243; ii. 1 and 292.

*hi | tāñ jaghāna tadā kruddha udgirantī payas tataḥ | jagāma
sā bhayodvignā punar eva pañin prati | payasas tasya paddhat-
yā rathena harivāhanaḥ | gatvā jaghāna ca pañin gāṣ ca tāḥ
punar āharat).*

This story, as will be seen at once, cannot have formed the setting for RV. x. 108. The Saramā of the Bṛhaddevatā who betrays Indra and the gods for a mess of the stolen milk, and, beaten by Indra, shows him against her will the way to the Paṇis, is utterly different from the haughty Saramā of the Rig-Veda who refuses their offer of friendship (vs. 10, *nā 'hām veda bhrātṛtvām nō svasṛtvām*).

We must therefore look elsewhere for the legendary setting of RV. x. 108. Sāyaṇa does not help us ; for in his commentary on the hymn he has unfortunately been napping. Instead of following his excellent habit of supplying, by way of introduction or interwoven in his notes, the pertinent frame-story from some Brāhmaṇical source,—and whatever may be said against his exegesis, he must be given credit for wide and accurate reading in the Ṇṛuti-literature, not inferior to that of the Dutch scholars in their classics,—he is here satisfied with giving us a barren sketch of a few lines recounting that “when the cows of Bṛhaspati, Indra’s chaplain, had been driven off by certain Asuras called Paṇis, hirelings of an Asura by the name of Vala, and had been hidden in a cave, the divine bitch, Saramā, was sent by Indra, at Bṛhaspati’s request, in search of the cows. And she, having crossed a large stream and having come to Vala’s stronghold, discovered these cows in their hiding place. At this juncture the Paṇis, with friendly condescension, had the following conversation with her.” The barrenness of this introduction is so much the more provoking, because Sāyaṇa knew the version of the Saramā-story as given in the Ṇṛtyāyana Brāhmaṇa. Here certainly was the place to give in full this story, to which he briefly alludes in his note on RV. i. 62. 3 in these words : “Concerning this there is the following story (*ākhyāna*). The bitch of the gods was called Saramā. When the cows had been driven off by the Paṇis, Indra sent this Saramā in search of these cows, even as in this world a hunter would send forth his dog in search of game gone to the woods. And this Saramā spoke thus : ‘O Indra, I will go under this condition, that thou wilt give to our offspring the food belonging to these cows, viz., milk, etc.’ He said : ‘Yes.’ And so the Ṇṛtyāyanaka says : ‘Food-eating I make

thine offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows (*annādinīm te sarame prajāṁ karomi yā no gā anuvindaḥ*).¹ Then going she learned about the abode of the cows. And having learned it, she told it him. And having been informed about the cows, this Indra, slaying this Asura, regained these cows.”

If the Ṣāṭyāyana version of the legend has thus been lost to us by Sāyaṇa's negligence, the only other Brāhmaṇical version¹ of which I know is that of the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 438 ff.). The wording of the fragment of the Ṣāṭyāyanaka preserved by Sāyaṇa (on RV. 1. 62. 3) and just quoted is identical with JB. ii. 440. 2; and on the basis of the material which I collected in this Journal, xviii. pp. 15–48, we are entitled to infer a close similarity between the versions of the Ṣāṭ. B. and the JB., which latter I here subjoin.² It is given à propos of the *jyotiṣṭoma*, *goṣṭoma*, and *āyusṭoma*, which in the order 1. *jyotiṣṭoma*, 2. *goṣṭoma*, 3. *āyusṭoma*, 4. *goṣṭoma*, 5. *āyusṭoma*, 6. *jyotiṣṭoma*, are distributed over the six days (=two tridua) of the *Abhiplava*-ceremony.³

JB. ii. 438. 1 : *atha ha vāi paṇayo nāmā 'surā' devānām goraksā āsuh. tābhir ahā 'pātasthuḥ. tā ha rasāyām nirudhya valenā 'pi dadhuḥ. 2. te devā atikupya lepus⁴ suparne 'mā no gā anvicche' 'ti. tathe 'ti. sa hā 'nuprapapāta. 3. tā hā 'nv-ājagāma rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāḥ. tasmāi hā 'nvāgatāya sarpiḥ kṣīram āmiksām dadhī 'ty etad upanidadhuḥ. tasya ha suhita āsa. tam ho "cus suparnāi 'sa eva te balir bhaviṣyaty*

¹ Nor does the legend seem to appear in the post-brāhmaṇical epics ; though the finding of Sītā by Hanumat is compared by H. Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 1893, p. 133) with Saramā's search of the cows.

² These passages, by the way, conclusively prove the correctness of Oldenberg's assumption (ZDMG. xxxix. 77): “Hierher (i. e. to the *ākhyāna*-hymns) möchte ich den Dialog von Yama und Yamī (x. 10) rechnen, und ebenso den der Saramā und der Paṇis (x. 108) ; wenn auch die Verse dieser Gespräche eine prosaische Ergänzung, eine Erzählung dessen was dem Gespräche vorausging und was ihm nachfolgte, vielleicht nicht unbedingt verlangen, so wird doch einem Ausleger, der die *Ākhyāna*-Form als eine von den vedischen Poeten gern und häufig gehandhabte anerkennt, die Annahme derselben auch für diese Sūktas sich wohl empfehlen.”

³ Cf. AB. iv. 15 ; KB. xxi. 1 f. ; TS. vii. 4. 11 ; Kāth. xxxiii. 3 ; ṢB. xiii. 5. 4. 3, with Eggeling's note⁴ on ṢB. iv. 5. 4. 2 = SBE. xxvi. p. 403, and Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 156.

⁴ -āñ.

⁵ *pātastus*.

⁶ *alikipalapus*.

⁷ -cchete.

etad annam mā naḥ pravoca iti. 4. sa ha punar āpapāta. taṁ ho "cus suparnā 'vido gā iti. kā kīrtiḥ cit gavām iti ho 'vāca. 5. eṣāi 'va kīrtir gavām iti tasya he 'ndro galam¹ pīlayann² uvāca goṣṭ evā 'haṁ kila tavo 'ṣuṣo mukham iti. sa ha dadhidrapsaṁ vā "miksām vo 'dāsa. so 'yaṁ babhūva yo³ 'yaṁ vasantā bhū-tikaḥ⁴ prajāyate.⁵ 6. taṁ ha tac chaçāpā⁶ çlīlajanma⁷ te jīvanam bhūyād yo no gā anuvidya tā⁸ na prāvoca⁹ iti. tasya hāi 'tad' grāmasya jaghanārdhe¹⁰ yat pāpiṣṭham¹¹ taj jīvanam.

439. 1. te saramām abruvan sarama imā nas tvaṁ gā anvicche 'ti. tathe 'ti sā hā 'nuprasasāra. sā ha rasām ājagāma.¹² 2. tāṁ ho 'vāca plosye tvā gādhā¹³ me bhaviṣyāsi¹⁴ 'ti. plavasva me 'ti ho 'vāca na te gādhā¹⁵ bhaviṣyāmī¹⁶ 'ti. 3. sā hā 'vācyā karṇāu plosyamānā sasāra. sā he "kṣāṁ cakre kathāṁ nu mā çunī plaveta hantā 'syāi gādhā¹⁷ sānī¹⁸ 'ti. tāṁ ho 'vāca mā mā plosṭhā gādhā¹⁹ te bhaviṣyāmī²⁰ 'ti. tathe 'ti. tasyāi ha gādhā²¹ āsa. sā ha gādhenā 'tisasāra. 4. tā hā 'nvājagāma rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāḥ. tasyāi hā 'nvāgatāyāi tathāi 'va sarpiḥ kṣīram āmikṣām dadhī²² 'ty etad upanīdadhuḥ²³ 5. sā ho 'vāca nā 'ham etāvad apriyā devānām. avidaṁ yad vo 'çniyām.²⁴ ta u vāi devānām steyaṁ kṛtvā carathāi 'tāsām vā ahaṁ gavām padavīr asmi. na mā lāpayiṣyadhve ne 'ndrasya gā upahariṣyadhva iti. 6. sā hā 'nāciṣy upasasāha. jarāyṁ apānī²⁵ tad²⁶ viveda. tad dha cakhāda. tāṁ hāi 'ka upajagāu tyam iva vāi ghnatī²⁷ saramā jāru khādatī²⁸ 'ti. tad idam apy etarhi nivacanam tyam iva vāi ghnatī saramā jāru khādhātī²⁹ 'ti. jarāyu ha sā tac cakhāda. 7. sā³⁰ ha punar āsasāra. tāṁ ho "cus sarama 'vido gā iti.

440. 1. avidam iti ho 'vāce 'mā rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāḥ. tā yathā 'manyadhvam evam ājīhīṣate 'ti. 2. tāṁ he³¹ 'ndra³² uvācā³³ 'nnādīm are te sarama prajāṁ karomī³⁴ yā no gā anvavida iti. te hāi 'te vidarbheṣu mācalās³⁵ sārameyā api ha çārdūlān³⁶ mārayanti. 3. te devā etam abhiplavaṁ samabharan. tenā³⁷ 'bhyaplavanta. tad abhiplavasyā³⁸ 'bhiplavatvam.³⁹

¹ galem.² upīḍgayaṁt.³ vayo.⁴ bhūmika.⁵ paçrjāyate.⁶ çvīlajānma.⁷ tā.⁸ prāv-⁹ jayan-¹⁰ After this is added the evident gloss: eṣā ha vāi sā rasā eṣā 'rvāk samudrasya (genitive! cf. Delbr. A. S., p. 163, § 112) vāpāyatī(!).¹¹ gāthā.¹² goyā.¹³ Note the masc.¹⁴ avoparīdadhus.¹⁵ 'gniyaṁ; the short ī also in the MBh., cf. Whitney, *Roots, Verb-Forms, etc.*, s. v. aḥ, but a correction to ī seems probable.¹⁶ apaṁs.¹⁷ taṁ.¹⁸ snatī.¹⁹ sā.²⁰ ha.²¹ daṁdra.²² vā.²³ -mī.²⁴ māt-²⁵ lān.²⁶ tenenā.²⁷ 'bhiplavam.

The rest of the chapter is purely ritualistic. I subjoin a translation of the legend in the JB. version.

438. 1. Now the Asuras called Paṇis were the cowherds of the gods. They made away with them. At the Rasā they penned them up and hid them in a cave. 2. The gods, exceedingly wroth,¹ said: "O Eagle, search after these our cows." "Yes." He flew after them. 3. He came upon them hidden in a cave at the Rasā. Before him, when he had come, they placed this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. He was well sated with this. They said to him: "O Eagle, this shall be thy tribute, this food; do not betray us." He flew away again. They (the gods) said to him: "O Eagle, hast thou found our cows?" "What news is there about the cows?" he said. 5. "This news," said Indra, compressing the eagle's crop. "I for one am the mouth (to declare that) thou hast stayed among the cows." He (the eagle) threw up a drop of sour curds² or some clotted curds. That same became the camphor-plant³ which grows here in spring. 6. Indra thus cursed him (the eagle): "May thy sustenance be of bad origin," who, having found our cows, hast not informed us." Thus his sustenance is the worst that is (found) in the rear of a village.

439. 1. They said to Saramā: "O Saramā, do thou search after these our cows." "Yes." She set out after them. She came to the Rasā. 2. She said to her: "I shall swim thee (unless) thou wilt become fordable for me." "Swim me," she (the Rasā) said, "I shall not become fordable for thee." 3. She (Saramā) laying back her ears came forward in order to swim her. She (Rasā) considered: "How, indeed, should a bitch swim me? Come, I will be fordable for her." She (R.) said to her (S.): "Do not swim me; I will be fordable for thee." "Yes." There was a ford for her. By means of the ford she (S.) crossed over. 4. She came upon them (the cows) hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Before her when she had come they placed, just as (they had done) before, this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. 5. She said: "I am not so unfriendly to the gods. I have

¹ The emendation of the corrupt text is tentative only.

² Hemacandra's identification of *drapsa* with 'sour milk' may be the result of the abbreviation of a compound like this, of which Francke has collected examples in ZDMG. xliv. 481 and *Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* viii. 241; cf. also Geldner *Ved. Stud.* ii. 274.

³ This emendation is a mere make-shift.

found what I may obtain of you. You, verily, have stolen from the gods. Truly of these cows I am the guide. You shall not make me prate, you shall not keep Indra's cows." She¹ . . . prevailed. The outer membrane of the waters—that she found. That she split open. One cried out against her: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane." Even now there is this reproach: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane." For she did split open that membrane. 7. She came back again. They (the gods) asked her: "O Saramā, hast thou found the cows?" 440. 1. "I have found them," she said, "hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Be pleased to take them just as you thought." 2. Indra said to her: "Food-eating, wench, I make thy offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows." And indeed among the Vidarbhans the *mācalas*³, descendants of Saramā, kill even tigers. 3. These gods prepared this Abhiplava-ceremony. By means of it they sailed over (*abhi+phu*). That is the etymology of the term Abhiplava.

It will be seen that chapters 439–440 above give an excellent setting for RV. x. 108. The correspondence between hymn and prose version is close even in details; the *atiṣkādo bhiyāsā tān na āvat tātā rasāyā ataram pīyāṁsi* (RV. x. 108. 2.) is elaborated in JB. 439. 2–3; and the spirit of Saramā's reply to the offer of the Paṇis is alike in RV. x. 108. 10 and JB. 439. 5.

Without chapter 438, the story in the JB. version would tally exactly with the Rig-Vedic account. In both Saramā remains faithful to the gods, while in the Bṛhaddevatā she betrays them. This latter motif is retained in the JB. in the introductory chapter. But it is not Saramā who appears in the JB. in the rôle of a traitor, but the eagle, who is first sent out by the gods in search of the cows. If it should seem surprising and unnatural that it should yield to the temptation of a draught of milk, we must remember that the *haṁsa* has become proverbial in Indian literature for its ability to separate the milk from the water;⁴ and, at VS.

¹ The next word is not clear to me, the reading is evidently faulty. What follows, especially the *tyam*, is also somewhat obscure.

² *jāru* = *jarāyu*, heretofore only in the compound *jāruja*, Ait. Up. v. 4.

³ If the reading is correct, it may be the name of a breed of dogs. The compounds *karimācala* and *gajamācala* are given by grammarians in the sense of 'lion.'

⁴ Professor Lanman in a paper read some years ago before the American Oriental Society, but not yet printed, has collected a large number of post-vedic passages dealing with this taste of the *haṁsa* for milk.

xix. 73, we read the same of the *kruñc* (*adbhyaḥ kṣīraṁ vyapibat' kruññ āṅgirasō dhiyā*, where the Commentator, apparently for this very reason, assumes a transformation of the *kruñc* into a *haṁsa*, noting *kruñ haṁso bhūtvā*).

I do not venture to determine the relation of these versions to each other. It might be surmised that the JB. version is an attempt to fuse the two conflicting legends of the Rig-Veda and the Bṛhaddevatā, keeping Saramā's character clean without sacrificing the motif of the betrayal of the gods. But such an assumption would, after all, rest on almost purely subjective grounds, and could no more be proved than the view that the Bṛhaddevatā-version is a condensation of the JB. form could be disproved.

II. The Ritual of Burial according to the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa.

To W. Caland's indefatigable industry we owe a very complete digest of the ancient Hindu Ritual of Burial,² based upon the (partly unpublished) texts of thirteen schools. A glance at Caland's sources (p. iv-x) will show the scarcity of *ṣrutī*-texts dealing with the funeral rites. As such the Jāiminiya account is of some interest, while at the same time it is the oldest document of the school of the Sāmavedins for which the sūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Gāutama have hitherto been our earliest sources.

As in ÇB. the funeral rites are incidentally dealt with in the JB. in connection with a possible mortal illness of the sacrificer, his death being considered as one of many disturbances of the sacrifice which call for an expiation (*prāyaścitti*).

JB. 1. 46. 1. *sa yado 'patāpī syād yatrā 'sya samam' subhūmi-
spaṣṭam' syāt tad brūyād iha me 'gnim' manthate 'tī 'ṣvaro hā
'gado bhavitoḥ. 2. yady u tan na yad asmāl lokāt preyād athāi
'nam ādadīran. 3. nānāsthālyor agnī' opya' hareyur anvāhā-
ryapacanād ulmukam. 4. ādadīran yajñapātrāṇi sarpiṛ apo*

¹ On *vi* + *√pā* see Oldenberg, GGN. 1893, p. 342.

² *Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche*, in *Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. Deel i. No. 6. Amsterdam, 1896.* In the following I refer to this paper by 'Caland' with the page added. The *pitṛmedhasūtras* of Bāudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeçin and Gāutama have lately been edited, also by Caland, in the *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. x. no. 3, Leipzig, 1896. For a brief summary of the burial rites see also Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, 1897, p. 87-97.

³ B. *sam*.

⁴ A. *sambhūti*-.

⁵ -*gnī*; read, perhaps, -*nīn*.

⁶ B. C. -*i*.

⁷ A. *vopya*; B. *devya*; C. *tapyā*.

*dārūṇy anustaraṇīm kṣuraṇ nakhānikṛntanam.*¹ 5. *te yanti yatrā 'sya samāṇ subhūmispaṣṭam*² *bhavati. tad asyā 'gnīṇ viharanti.*

"If he (the agnihotrin) should fall ill—where he may have a level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot, he should say : 'Here churn my fire.' It is possible, indeed, that he may recover. 2. If not, if he should depart this world, then they should take him. 3. After throwing two fires into two separate pots, they should snatch a fire-brand from the anvāhāryapacana-fire. 4. They should take the sacrificial vessels, liquid butter, water, wood, the anustaraṇī-victim, a razor, a pair of nail-scissors. 5. They go where he has a level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot. Thus they transfer his fires."

1. On the transfer of the fires of the sick āhitāgni in the hope that he may recover, see Caland, p. 5, § 1 with note ²¹.—*subhūmi-spaṣṭam* here and in 5 offers difficulties. As second member of the compound *-sprṣṭam* might be conjectured, for if *subhūmispaṣṭam* were 'plainly a favorable spot' the order of the members of the compound ought to be reversed, as in *spaṣṭākṣara*, *spaṣṭāmbuj*. For *subhūmi* compare Caland's critical note ⁵ on Hiraṇyakeçin's Piṭṛmedha S. p. 33³ and Gobh. GS. i. 4. 5, *subhūmim kṛtvā*, with the Commentary, *subhūmim çobhanām bhūmim kṛtvā*. The requirements for a *subhūmi*, of which evenness is one, are collected by Caland, p. 31, § 14.

3. Cf. Caland, § 11, p. 19 ff. As to the transfer of the sacrificial fires, the JB. ritual is peculiar in taking along two (the *āhavanīya* and the *gārhapatya*) fires in two separate pots, but a fire-brand from the *dakṣiṇāgni*. According to the other texts all three fires are taken along in separate pots.—*agnī opya* as in ÇB. xi. 5. 1. 13 *tasmāi ha sthālyām opyā 'gnīm pradaduḥ*. Our text apparently knows nothing of the circumstantial procedure of generating the three fires within the pots (such as the ÇB. describes; Caland p. 19), but seems to imply that they were simply put into the vessels.—*yajñapātrāṇi*, etc., cf. Caland, p. 21; on the *anustaraṇī* especially, p. 22, note⁹⁶.

47. 1. *athā 'syām diçi kūpaṇ khātvā vapanti keçaçmaçrūṇi*. 2. *uptvā⁴ keçaçmaçrūṇi nakhān nikṛntanti*. 3. *nakhān nikṛtya nīrāntraṇ⁵ kurvanti*. 4. *nīrāntraṇ⁶ kṛtvā nispurīṣaṇ kurvanti*. 5. *nispurīṣaṇ⁷ kṛtvā pāṇsubhiḥ kūpe purīṣam abhisamvapanti*.

¹ A. *kṛtta*—; B.C. *kṛtānatteṇ*.

² A. C. *sambhūtisp*—; B. *sumisp*—; H. *subhūmasp*—.

³ I do not think that the parallels adduced there are weighty enough to warrant a change of the MSS. reading.

⁴ A. *u*.

⁵ A. B. *-tam*.

⁶ *-tam*.

⁷ A. *-phu*—.

pāpmānam evā 'sya tat pracchādayanti. 6. pracchādyā' 'ntrāṇi pratyavadāyāi 'nam āharanti. 7. tam antareṇā 'gnīn nidhāya gārhapatya ājyaṁ vilāpyo 'tpūya' caturgrhītaṁ grhītvā gatvā "havanīye samidvaty anvārabdhe³ juhoty ayaṁ vāi tvad asmād asi tvam. etad ayaṁ te yonir asya yonis tvam. pitā putrāya lokakṛj jātavedo nayā⁴ hy enaṁ sukṛtāṁ yatra loko 'smād vāi tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatāṁ svāhe 'ti. 8. so 'ta āhutimayo manomayo prāṇamayaḥ cakṣurmayaḥ crottramayo vāñmaya ṛīmoyo yajūrmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo hiraṇmayo⁵ 'mr̥tas sambhavati.

47. 1. "Then, having in this quarter dug a hole, they cut the hair and the beard. 2. Having cut the hair and the beard, they trim the nails. 3. Having trimmed the nails, they take out the bowels. 4. Having taken out the bowels, they remove the faeces. 5. Having removed the faeces they (throw them) in the hole (and) carefully cover them with sand ; thus they cover his evil. 6. Having covered them, having replaced the bowels, they take him. 7. Having deposited him between the fires, having melted the ājya-butter over the gārhapatya-fire and purified it, having taken four ladlings, going up, he makes oblation in the āhavanīya-fire which is supplied with kindling wood, while he touches (the corpse, with the words) : 'He verily is of thee, of him thou art ; thus he is thy womb, his womb thou art. (As) a father unto (his) son, O world-making Jātavedas, do thou lead him where the world of the righteous is ; verily, from him thou wast born, let him be born of thee ; svāha.' 8. He thence comes into being possessed of oblation, of mind, of breath, of sight, of hearing, of speech, of ṛc, of yajus, of sāmān, of brahman, of gold, immortal."

1. ff. The cleaning and dressing of the corpse takes place at the burial-spot as with the Rāṇāyanīyas and Mādhyamīnas (Caland, p. 39, § 20), not previous to the conveyance of the body to the place of burial (Caland, p. 14, § 7). This accounts for some of the implements taken along by the funeral procession (above, JB. 46. 4).

4, 5. The disemboweling of the corpse, etc., is not approved of by the other schools (Caland, p. 15) which mention it, save by the Čāt-yāyana Brāhmaṇa as quoted in Hiraṇyakeçin's Pitṛmedhasūtra (ed. Caland) p. 37. 3, *athāi 'nam udare vidārya nirāntram niṣpurīṣaṁ*

¹ A. -cchālyā ; B.C. -kṣaly-.

² A. lp-

³ B. ārabdhe.

⁴ sic.

⁵ *hiraṇdhmaiṇyā* ; C. *hiraṇmayoyā*.

kṛtvā 'vaṇe puriṣam avadhāya prakṣālya pratyavadhāya sarpiṣā pūrayati 'ti cātyāyanakam. (Hiraṇyakeçin opposes this practice much on the same ground as the ÇB. xii. 5. 2. 5: *prajā hā 'sya kṣodhukā bhavati*). We thus have here another point of contact between the JB. and the ÇĀṭ.B. But it seems noteworthy that the direction of the ÇĀṭ.B. with reference to the *anas* on which the corpse is conveyed to the burial-place, viz. *kṛṣṇagavaṃ syāt* (quoted in Hiraṇyakeçin's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 35. 6, *anasā vahanti 'ty eke kṛṣṇagavaṃ syād iti cātyāyanakam*) has no parallel in the JB.¹

7. Cf. Bāudhāyana's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 4, 6 *athāi 'nam ādāyā 'ntarvedi prakṣirasam āśādayanty atra havir āśādyata ity atha gārhapatya ājyaṃ vilāpyo 'tpūya sruci caturgrhītaṃ grhītvā pre-tasya dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum anvārabhya juhōti.* Cf. on the whole, Caland, p. 13.—The words uttered during the oblation are not RV. x. 14. 1. which Bāudhāyana prescribes (p. 4, 10) but almost identical with the mantras ÇĀṅkh. ÇS. iv. 14. 36, *ayaṃ vāi tvat tvam asmād ayaṃ te yonis tvam asya yoniḥ. jātavedo vahasvāi 'naṃ sukr̥tāṃ yatra lokāḥ. ayaṃ vāi tvam ajanayaḥ ayaṃ tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svāha*, and TĀ. vi. 1. 24, *ayaṃ vāi tvam asmād adhi tvam etad ayaṃ vāi tad asya yonir asi. vāiçvānaraḥ putraḥ pitre lokakṛj jātavedo vahe 'maṃ sukr̥tāṃ yatra lokāḥ.* Cf. also TĀ. vi. 2. 3 *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayaṃ jāyatām punaḥ. agnaye vāiçvānaraḥ svargāya lokāya svāha*; TĀ. vi. 4. 12, *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'sy ayaṃ tvad adhi jāyatām. agnaye v. s. l. s.*; Kāuṣ. S. 81. 30, *asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā ayaṃ tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svāha*; Āçv. G.S. iv. 3. 27, *asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā ayaṃ tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svargāya lokāya svāha.* But this mantra, among the Tāittirīyas, follows the *upoṣaṇa*, Caland, p. 62, §32 *a* with note²³⁷. Here also belongs JB. i. 2. (second half) *tad yadā vāi mana utkrāmati yadā prāṇo yadā cakṣur yadā çrotraṃ yadā vāg etān evā 'gnīn abhigacchati. athā 'sye 'daṃ çarīram eteṣv evā 'gniṣv anupravidh-yanty asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām svāhe 'ti.* so *'ta āhutamayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaç cakṣur-mayaç çrotramayo vāñmaya ṛñmaya yajurmaya sāmamayo brah-mamayo hiraṇmayo 'mṛtas sambhavati. amṛtā hāi 'vā 'sya prāṇā bhavanty amṛtaṃ çarīram idaṃ kurute. so 'mṛtatvaṃ ga-cchati ya evaṃ vidvān agnihotraṃ juhōti.*

JB. i. 48. 1. *athāi 'tām citām² cinvanti. tasyām enam ādadha-ti.* 2. *tasya nāsikayos sruvāu nidadhyād dakṣiṇahaste juhūm*

¹ Similarly the quotation from the ÇĀṭ.B. given by Lāt.ÇS. i. 3. 24 with reference to the *subrahmaṇyā*-ceremony is without a parallel in the JB. (cf. JAOS. xviii. 34). But I am doubtful whether by *Cātyāyanaka* the Brāhmaṇa is necessarily meant. It is quite possible that the term includes the Sūtras. Some quotations from the *Cātyāyanaka* in the Upagranthasūtra and in Bāudhāyana's G.S., to which Caland was kind enough to direct my attention, have a distinct sūtra-tone.

² A. *cintām*.

*savya upabhṛtam urasi dhruvām mukhe 'gnihotrahavanīm
 ṣīrṣataḥ camasam ilopavahanam karnayoḥ prāṣitrahārane
 udare pātrīm¹ samavattadhānīm² āṇḍayor dṛṣadupale ṣiṇe
 ṣamyām upasthe kṛṣṇājīnam anuprṣṭham³ sphyaṁ pārṣvayor
 musale ca ṣurpe ca patta ulūkhalam. 3. pariṣiṣṭāni yajñapā-
 trāṇy upari dadhati. 4. apo mṛṇmayāny abhyavaharanti⁴
 dadaty evā 'yasmayāni. 5. athāi 'nam⁵ sarpiṣā 'bhyutpūrayanti
 yajñapātreṣu sarpir āśīncanti.*

"1. Now they construct the funeral pyre. On it they place him. 2. He should put down on his nostrils two sruva-ladles; in the right hand the juhū-ladle; in the left (hand) the upabhṛt-ladle; on the chest the dhruvā-ladle; on the mouth the agnihotra-ladle; on the head the camasa-beaker for carrying the ilā; on the ears the two prāṣitra-vessels; on the abdomen the vessel containing the cuttings; on the testicles the upper and the lower mill-stones; on the penis the wedge; on the pudenda the skin of the black antelope; behind the back the wooden sword; on the ribs two pestles and two winnowing baskets; at the feet the mortar. 3. The other sacrificial vessels he puts on top. 4. They throw the earthen (vessels) into the water, while they give away the iron (vessels). 5. Then they fill him up with liquid butter. They pour liquid butter into the sacrificial vessels."

1. The directions for the construction of the funeral pyre, etc., are here omitted. Cf. Caland, p. 35 ff. § 17. The text passes on at once to the *pātracayana* (Caland, p. 49, § 27). The similarities and differences in the distribution of the implements over the body will be seen from the following tables.⁶

1. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PARTS OF BODY.

Head (*ṣirasi, ṣīrṣataḥ, ṣīrastah, ṣīrṣan*): *kapālāni* A, H, B, Ç; *kapālāni samoptadhānaḥ* ca *camasam* L; *kapālāni samavattadhānaḥ* ca *camasam* G; *camasaḥ praṇītāpraṇayanam* *kapālāni* cāi 'ke Kāt; *praṇītāpraṇayanam* *camasam* B; *camasaḥ praṇītāpraṇayanam* ÇB; *camasam ilopavahanam* J; *iḍācamasam* K; *upasādanīyam* *kūrcam* B; *upasādanīyam iḍāpātram* ca H.

Hairtufts (*ṣikhāyām*): *vedam* H.

¹ -īm. ² A. -ttayā-. ³ B. -ṣṭam; C. -ṣyam. ⁴ A. *abhyahar*-. ⁵ A. om.

⁶ Abbreviations: A = Āçv. GS.; B = Bāudhāyana's *pitṛmedhasūtra*; Ç = Çāṅkh. ÇS.; ÇB = Çatap. Br.; G = Gāutama's *pitṛmedhasūtra*; H = Hiranyakeçin's *pitṛmedhasūtra*; Kāt = Kātyāyana's ÇS.; L = Lāṭy. ÇS.; J = Jāminiya Br. A few other texts referred to by Caland were not accessible to me.

Forehead (*lalāṭe*): *ekakapālam* H, B; *prācitraharaṇam* L, K, G.
Eyes (*akṣṇoḥ*): *hiraṇyaçakalāv ājyasruvāu vā* H, B.

Ears (*karṇayoḥ*): *prācitraharane* J, ÇB, Kāt; *prācitraharane bhittvā cāi 'kam* A, H; *prācitraharaṇam bhittvā* B; *prācitraharaṇam* [karṇe daksīṇe] *praṇītāpraṇayanam* [karṇe savye] Ç; *sruvāu* [nāsikayor vā] G.

Nostrils (*nāsikayoḥ*): *sruvāu* J, ÇB, Kāt, Ç, L, H, B; [karṇayor vā] G; *sruvāu bhittvā cāi 'kam* A; *sruvam* K.

Mouth (*mukhe*): *agnihotrahavaṇīm* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.

Teeth (*datsu*): *grāvṇaḥ* A, Ç; [yadi grāvāṇo bhavanti] H.

Jaws (*hanvoḥ*): *ulūkhalamusale* H.

Throat (*kaṇṭhe*): *agnihotrahavaṇīm* Ç; *dhruvām* K.

Trunk

Shoulders (*aṅse*): [daksīṇe] *mekṣaṇam* [savye] *piṣṭodvapanīm* B.¹

Chest (*urasi*): *dhruvām* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, Ç, A, G; *dhruvām araṇī* ca H, B; *puroḍāçam* K.

Waist (*madhye*): *camasam* H.

Ribs (*pārçvayoḥ*): *çūrpe* ÇB, Kāt; *çūrpe chittvā vāi 'kam* H, B²; *musale* ca *çūrpe* ca J; *pātryāu* Ç; *sphyopaveṣāu* G; [pārçve daksīṇe] *sphyam* A, K, Ç; [pārçve savye] *upaveṣam* K; *kṛṣṇājīnam* Ç; *agnihotrahavaṇīm* A.

Groin (*vaṅkṣṇayoḥ*): *sāmnāyyakumbhyāu* B, [yadi sāmnayati] H.

Navel (*nābhyām*): *ājyasthālīm* H.

Abdomen (*udare*): *pātrīm* L, K, G; *pātrīm samavattadhānam* ca *camasam* A, *pātrīm samavattadhānīm* J, ÇB, Kāt; *samavattadhānīm* Ç; *piṣṭasamīyavanīm* *pātrīm* H; *dārupātrīm* B; [ku kṣyoḥ]³ *camasāu sāmnāyyāpidhānīm* ce 'ḍopahavanam ca B.

Pudenda (*upasthe*): *kṛṣṇājīnam* J, L, G; *çamyām* A; *araṇī* Ç.

Penis (*çiṇe*): *çamyām* J, ÇB, Kāt; *vṛṣāravam çamyām* ca H, B.

Scrotum (*āṇḍayoḥ*, *vṛṣaṇayoḥ*): *araṇī* Kāt; *dṛṣadupale* J, H, B; [āṇḍayor ante] *vṛṣāravāv anvag ulūkhalaṁ* ca *musalaṁ* ca ÇB.

Hand (*haste*, *pāṇau daksīṇe*): *juhūm* J, B, K, A, G, Ç, L; *juhūm sphyam* ÇB; *juhūm . . . sphyam* ca Kāt; *sphyam juhūm* ca H.

(*haste*, *pāṇau savye*): *upabhṛtam* J, K, A, H, B, ÇB, Kāt, L, Ç, G.

Leg

Thighs (*çronyoḥ*): *çakaṭam* K; *anvāhāryasthālīm carusthālīm* ca B.

¹ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhṛt* on both shoulders.

² Read *çūrpe* for *çūrpaṁ* in Bāudh. p. 10, 16.

³ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place here the *puroḍāça* (-*pātri*.)

- Loins (*ūrvoḥ*): *araṇī* A; *ulūkhalamusale* B; [*aṣṭhivatoḥ ca*] Ç.
 (*antureṇo "rū"*): *anyāni yajñapātrāṇi* ÇB, Kāt, K.
 (*antarā, antareṇa sakthini*): *avaçiṣṭāni* H; *avaçiṣṭāni*
pātrāṇi B; *çamyādṛṣadupale yac ca nā "deṣ(!)yāmaḥ"*¹
 L, G.
 (*anusaktham, anusakthi*): *musalam* L, G.
 Upper leg (*ukhasya dakṣiṇasya dakṣiṇataḥ*): *ulūkhalam* L, G.
 Knee-cap (*aṣṭhivatoḥ*): *ulūkhalamusalam* K; *ulūkhalamusale*
 [*ūrvoḥ ca*] Ç.
 Lower leg (*jaṅghayoh*): *ulūkhalamusale* A.
 Feet (*pattaḥ, pādayoh*): *ulūkhalam* J; *agnihotrapātrāṇi* Ç; *upā-*
vaharaṇīyam kūrcaṃ H; *upāvaharaṇīyam* B; *agnihotrasthā-*
lim ajyasthālim ca B; *çūrpam* L, K; *çūrpe bhittvā cāi 'kam*
 A; *çakaṭaḥçūrpe* G; *çūrpaçakaṭe* Ç.
 Back (*anuprṣṭham, prṣṭhe*): *sphyam* J, B; *kṛṣṇājinam . . . pra-*
stīrya . . . tasminn enam . . . nipadya ÇB.
 Indefinite: *upari pariçiṣṭāni yajñapātrāṇi (dadhati)* J.

2. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO IMPLEMENTS.

- agnihotrahavaṇim*: *kaṇṭhe* Ç; *pārçve savye* A; *mukhe* J, ÇB,
 Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.
agnihotrapātrāṇi: *pattaḥ* Ç.
agnihotrasthālim: *pādayoh* B.
anvāhāryasthālim: *çronyoh* B.
araṇī: *urasi* B, H; *ūrvoḥ* A; *vṛṣaṇayoh* Kāt; *upasthe* Ç.
avaçiṣṭāni, pariçiṣṭāni, anyāni yajñapātrāṇi; *yac ca nā "deṣ(!)yā-*
maḥ": *antareṇa sakthini* L, G, B; *antarā sakthini* H; *antar-*
eṇo "rū" ÇB, Kāt, K; *upari* J.
ajyasthālim: *pādayoh* B; *nābhyām* H.
ajyasruvāu: *akṣṇoh* H, B.
*iḍācamasam*²: *çirasi* K.
iḍāpātram: *çirastah* H.
iḍopavahanam (camasam): *çīrṣataḥ* J; *kukṣyoh* B.
upabhṛtam: *haste savye* J, H, B, Kāt, K, A; *pāṇau savye* ÇB, Ç,
 G, L.³
upala v. *dṛṣadupale*.
upaveṣam: *pārçve savye* K. Cf. *sphyopaveṣāu*: *pārçvayoh* G.
upasādanīyam (kūrcaṃ): *çirastah* B, H.
upāvaharaṇīyam (kūrcaṃ): *pattaḥ* B, H.
ulūkhalam: *pattaḥ* J; *ukhasya dakṣiṇasya dakṣiṇataḥ* L, G.
ulūkhalamusale: *jaṅghayoh* A; *aṣṭhivatoḥ* K; *ūrvoḥ aṣṭhivatoḥ*
ca Ç; *ūrvoḥ* B; *hanvoḥ* H; *anvag āṇḍayor ante* ÇB.
*ekakapālam*⁴: *lalāṭe* H, B.

¹ Cf. Caland's note on Gāutama, p. 90. ² = *iḍāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51.

³ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhṛt* on both shoulders.

⁴ Cf. Caland, p. 53, note¹⁹⁶.

kapālāni: *çirasi* H, G, L, Ç, B, A; [*kapālāni cāi 'ke*] Kāt. Cf. also *ekakapāla*.

kumbhī, v. *sānuāyākumbhyāu*.

kūrca, v. *upasādanīya* and *upāvaharaṇīya*.

kṛṣṇājīnam: *upasthe* J, L, G; . . . *prastīrya* . . . *tasminn enam* . . . *nīpadya* ÇB; *pārçve savye* Ç.

grāvṇaḥ: *datsu* A, Ç, [*yadi grāvṇo bhavanti*] H.

camasam: *madhye* H. Cf. also *idācamasa*, *idopavahana*, *praṇītā-praṇayana*, *samavattadhāna*, *samoptadhānana*.

carusthālīm: *çronyoḥ* B.

juhūm: *haste dakṣiṇe* J, H, K, A, B, Kāt; *pāṇāu dakṣiṇe* ÇB, L, Ç, G¹.

*dārupātrīm*²: *udare* B.

dṛṣadupale: *āṇḍayoḥ* J, B, H; *antareṇa sakthini* L, G; *amā putraḥ kurvīta* A. K.³

dhruvām: *urasi* J, ÇB, Kāt, G, L, Ç, A, B, H; *kaṇṭhe* K.

*pātrīm*⁴: *udare* A, K, L, G.

*pātryāu*⁴: *pārçvayoḥ* Ç. Cf. also *agnihotrapātrāṇi*, *idāpātra*, *dārupātrī*, *piṣṭasamhyavanī*, *piṣṭodvapanī*, *puroḍāça*, *samavattadhānī*.

*piṣṭasamhyavanīm*⁴ (*pātrīm*): *udare* H.

*piṣṭodvapanīm*⁴: *aṅse savye* B.

*puroḍāçam*⁴: *urasi* K.⁵

praṇītāpraṇayanam (*camasam*): *çirṣan* ÇB; *çirasi* Kāt; *çirastah* B; *karṇe savye* Ç.

prāçitraharaṇam: [*bhittvā*] *karṇayoḥ* B; *karṇe dakṣiṇe* Ç; *lalāṭe* L, G, K⁶.

prāçitraharaṇe: *karṇayoḥ* J, ÇB, Kāt; [*bhittvā cāi 'kam*] H.

musalam: *anusaktham* L; *anusakthi* G.

musale: *pārçvayoḥ* J. Cf. also *ulūkhalamusale*.

mekṣaṇam: *aṅse dakṣiṇe* B.

*vṛṣāravam*⁷: *çiçne* H, B.

vṛṣāravāu: *āṇḍayor ante* ÇB.

vedam: *çikḥāyām* H.⁸

çakaṭam: *çronyoḥ* K; *pādayoḥ* G. Cf. also *çūrpaçakaṭe*.

çakaṭaçūrpe: *pādayoḥ* G.

çamyām: *çiçne* J, B, H, Kāt; *çiçnasyā 'nte* ÇB; *upasthe* A; *antareṇa sakthini* L, G.

çūrpam: *pādayoḥ* Ç, L, K.

çūrpe: *pārçvayoḥ* ÇB, Kāt, J, [*chittvā vāi 'kam*] B; *pādayoḥ* [*bhittvā cāi 'kam*] A. Cf. also *çakaṭaçūrpe*.

¹ The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhṛt* on both shoulders.

² = *idāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51.

³ Cf. Caland, p. 51f.

⁴ Cf. the discussion of these vessels in Caland, p. 50.

⁵ The Mānavas, according to Caland, *kukṣyoḥ*.

⁶ So also, according to Caland, the Mānavas.

⁷ Cf. Caland, p. 52. ⁸ The Mānavas, according to Caland, on the head.

çurpaçakaṭe : *pādayoḥ Ç*.

*samavattadhānīm*¹ (*pātrīm*) : *udare J, ÇB, Kāt, Ç*.²

*samavattadhānam*³ (*camasam*) : *udare A* ; *çirasi G*.

samoptadhānanam (*camasam*) : *çirasi L*.

sāmnāyyakumbhyāu : *van̄kṣṇayoḥ B, H*.⁴

sāmnāyyāpidhanīm : *kukṣyoḥ B*.

sphyam : *anupr̥ṣṭham J* ; *pr̥ṣṭhe B* ; *pāṇāu dakṣiṇe ÇB* ; *dakṣiṇa-*
haste Kāt ; *haste dakṣiṇe H* ; *pārçve dakṣiṇe A, K, Ç*. Cf.

also *sphyopaveṣāu* under *upaveṣa*.

sthālī, v. *agnihotrasthālī*, *anvāhāryasthālī*, *ājyasthālī*, *carusthālī*.

sruvam : *nāsikayoḥ K*.

sruvāu : *nāsikayoḥ karṇayor vā G* ; *nāsikayoḥ J, ÇB, Kāt, L, B,*
H, C, [bhittvā cāi 'kam] A. Cf. also *ājyasruvāu*.

The differences between the JB. and the other younger Sāman-
texts are noteworthy, see under *avaçiṣṭāni*, *ulūkhalam*, *dr̥ṣadupale*,
prāçitraharaṇe and *-nam*, *musale*, *çamyām*, *çurpe* with *çurpam* and
çakaṭaçurpe, *samavattadhānīm* and *-nam*, *sphyam* and *sphyopa-*
veṣāu.

3. Cf. Caland p. 52 in fin.

JB. 1. 49. 1. *athāi 'tām anustaraṇīm ānayanti*. 2. *tām prokṣ-*
ya trir apasalaṁ⁵ paryānāyya kūtē⁶ hanyāt.⁷ pradakṣiṇam hāi
'ke paryāṇayanti.⁸ tad u tathā nū kuryāt. 3. *tasyāi vapām⁹*
utkhidyā çir̥ṣṇi¹⁰ parivayanti¹¹ hastayor matasni¹² hr̥daye
hr̥dayam bāhvor bāhū.¹³ yathāṅgam eve 'tarāṇy āṅgāni vicin-
vanti.¹⁴ 4. athāi 'nam carmanā prornvanti svayā tanvā
sa mṛdhyasve 'ti. 5. *saṁstīryo¹⁵ 'pādīpayanti*. 6. *sa tathāi*
'va cikirsed yathāi 'nam āhavanīyaḥ prathamō gacchet tad enam
devalokaḥ pratyāgacchaty atha yathā 'nvāhāryapacanas tad
enam pitṛlokaḥ pratyāgacchaty atha yathā gārhapatyas tathā
'smi¹⁶ loke prajāyā ca¹⁷ paçubhiḥ ca pratitiṣṭhati.

7. *tasyo 'pādīptasya dhūma eva çariraṁ dhunoti.¹⁸ sa yad*
dhunoti¹⁹ tasmād dhunaḥ.¹⁹ dhuno¹⁸ ha vāi nāmāi 'śaḥ. tam dhū-
ma iti parokṣam ācakṣate parokṣeṇāi¹⁹ 'va. parokṣapriyā iva hi
vāi²⁰ devāḥ. 8. *dhūmād vāi rātrim apyeti rātriyā ahar ahno²¹*
apocchantīpakṣam²² apocchantīpakṣād²³ āpūryamānapakṣam

¹ = *idāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51. ² So also the Mānavas, according to Caland.

³ = *idāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51.

⁴ The Mānavas, according to Caland, on the abdomen.

⁵ B.C. -līm. ⁶ A. -ṭo. ⁷ A. nahanyām. ⁸ A. payā-. ⁹ A. vacām.

¹⁰ -sī. ¹¹ parivay-. ¹² B. mṛtasniḥ ; C. matasī. ¹³ B.C. bahma.

¹⁴ A. cinvati. ¹⁵ A. saṁstīryo. ¹⁶ A. gñim asmiṇ. ¹⁷ A. om.

¹⁸ All MSS. have short u. ¹⁹ A.B. -e. ²⁰ A.B. om. ²¹ B.C. añho.

²² A. porcantīpakṣam ; B.C. pocchantīpakṣam.

²³ A. evorcantīcakṣād ; B.C. apocchantīcakṣād.

āpūryamānapakṣān māsam. te atra māsē¹ çarīram cā "suç
ca saṁgacchāte. 9. taṁ² ha³ rtūnām⁴ eko yaḥ kṛtāhasto rag-
minā prtyavetya prcchati ko 'si. puruṣe 'ti.

50. 1. taṁ pratibrūyād

vicakṣaṇād ṛtavo reta ābhṛtam

ardhamāsyam⁵ prasutāt pitryāvata

iti. yad ado⁶ vicakṣaṇam somaṁ rājānam juhvati tat tat.

tam mā puṁsi⁷ kartary erayadhvam⁸

iti. puṁsi⁷ hy enam⁹ etat kartary erayante.¹⁰

puṁsaḥ kartur¹¹ mātary āsiṣikta¹²

iti. mātari hy enam āsiṁcati.

sa upajāya¹³ upajāyamānas

trayodaçena dvādaçopamāsa

iti. eṣa trayodaço ya eṣa tapati.

saṁ tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta ma¹⁴ ṛtavo 'mṛtam¹⁵ āna-
yadhvam dvādaçatrayodaçena pitrā tayā¹⁶ mātṛā¹⁶ tayā çrad-
dhayā tenā 'nnādyaena tena satyena. ahar me pitā¹⁷ rātrir¹⁸
mātā. satyam asmi.¹⁹ tam ma ṛtavo 'mṛtam²⁰ ānayadhvam²¹
iti. 2. taṁ ha rtava ānayante. yathā vidvān avidvāṁsaṁ²²
yathā jñānaṁ²³ ajñānantam²⁴ evaṁ hāi 'nam²⁵ ṛtava²⁶ ānayante.²⁷
taṁ hā 'tyarjayānte.²⁸ 3. sa hāi 'sa na manuṣyo ya evaṁ veda
devānām ha vāi sa eko ya evaṁ vit. 4. taṁ ha²⁹ manojavasah
pitaras ca pitāmahaç ca pratyāgacchanti tataḥ kiṁ na āhārṣir
iti. 5. tān pratibrūyād yat kiṁ ca puṇyam³⁰ akaram³¹ tad yuṣ-
mākam iti. tasya putrā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādḥkṛtyām³²
dviṣantaḥ pāpakṛtyām. sa evam etat tredhā³³ vibhajyāi 'tasya
salokatām apyeti ya eṣa tapati.

"1. Then they bring that anustaraṇi-victim. 2. After sprinkling
it and having caused it to be led around three times to the left,
he should deal it a blow against the forehead. Some indeed lead
it around to the right. But let him not do so. 3. Cutting out
its omentum they envelop his head with it; (they place) the kid-

¹ A. -o. ² A.C. tam. ³ A.C. aha. ⁴ A. ānām; B.C. rtrānām.

⁵ All MSS. -māsam; and prasutān. ⁶ A. edā. ⁷ -si. ⁸ B.C. or-.

⁹ A. inserts iti m. ¹⁰ A. orayanti. ¹¹ karttar.

¹² All MSS. have this sandhi.

¹³ All MSS. have the sandhi upajāyo 'paj-.

¹⁴ A. mām. ¹⁵ mṛta. ¹⁶ A. om. ¹⁷ A. pikā. ¹⁸ A. rātrim.

¹⁹ B.C. repeat satyam asmi. ²⁰ A. mṛta. ²¹ A. āra-. ²² vidvaṁsa.

²³ A. om.; B.C. jñānaḥ. ²⁴ jñānantam.. ²⁵ C. 'va. ²⁶ A. om.

²⁷ A. -ta. ²⁸ tyañjay-. ²⁹ A. aha; C. ubha; B. maha. ³⁰ B.C. -m.

³¹ B.C. kar-. ³² A. -kṛtvā; B.C. -kṛtyā. ³³ A. tedhā.

neys in his hands, the heart on his heart, the fore-legs on his arms. They severally arrange the other limbs on his corresponding limbs. 4. Then they cover him with the skin saying : 'Thrive by thine own body.' 5. Having spread all (the parts of the anustaraṇī) they set (the pyre) on fire. 6. He should endeavor to do it in this way : If the āhavanīya-fire should reach him first, then the world of the gods approaches him ; and if the anvāhārya-pacana-fire, then the world of the Fathers approaches him ; and if the gārhapatya-fire then he stands firm in this world with progeny and cattle.

7. Of him being set on fire the smoke shakes (off) the body. Because it shakes therefore it is called *dhūna*. For it is *dhūna* by name. Mystically they call it *dhūma*, by a mystic (appellation). For the gods are fond of the mystic. 8. From the smoke it goes unto night, from night to day, from day to the dark fortnights, from the dark fortnights to the bright fortnights, from the bright fortnights to the month. There, in the month, both body and life-spirit come together. 9. Him one of the seasons, which has a hammer in its hand, having descended by means of a ray, asks : 'Who art thou, O man ?'

50. He should make answer : 'O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the fathers.' Because they offer here illustrious king Soma, that (is meant) by it. 'Make me as such arise in a man as the maker.' For they thus make him arise in a man as the maker. 'From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother.' For he (the man) pours him into the mother. 'As such am I reborn, being born anew, the intercalary month of the twelve, through the thirteenfold one.' He is the thirteenfold one who burns here. 'Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal, thither, through the twelvefold (and) thirteenfold father, through this mother, through this faith,¹ through this food-eating, through this truth. Day is my father; night is my mother. I am truth. As such, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal one, thither. 2. Him the seasons lead thither. As one who knows (leads) him who does not know, as one who understands him who does not understand, even so the seasons lead him

¹ 'Faith' in James' sense of the word (ii. 14-18); cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. i. 448 ff.

thither. They bring him across. 3. Not a man is he who knows thus; verily one of the gods is he who thus knows. 4. Manojas' Fathers and Grand-sires come to meet him saying: 'What hast thou brought for us from hence?' 5. To them he should make answer: 'Whatever good deed I have done that is yours.' Such an one's sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon his good actions, the enemies upon his evil deeds. Having thus made this threefold division, he enters into the same world with him who burns here."

1. On the leading around and the slaughter of the *anustaraṇī* see Caland, p. 40f, §§ 22, 23 and p. 54, § 28. 2. *apasalam* seems to be ἀπ. λεγ.

2. The meaning of *kūṭa* in *kūṭahasta* (below, 9.) is certainly 'hammer'; cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 138f; v. Bradke, ZDMG. xlv. 458; Bloomfield, *ibid.* xlviii. 546; v. Bradke, KZ. xxxiv. 156f. In order to translate it so here also a change to *kūṭena* (which Professor Bloomfield suggested to me) would be necessary. I have hesitated to emend thus, because I yet feel quite uncertain whether *kūṭa* always means 'hammer' and not also 'forehead'.¹ Without entering into the question in detail, I venture to call attention to the fact that the passage ÇB. iii. 8. 1. 15, *tasya na kūṭena praghñanti mānuṣaṃ hi tan no eva paçcāt karṇam pitṛdevatyāṃ hi tat*, offers difficulties whichever of the two meanings may be chosen. If we translate 'forehead' (with Sāyaṇa and Eggeling), the instrumental instead of the locative is very offensive. If, on the other hand, we translate 'hammer,' the evident contrast between *kūṭena* and *paçcāt karṇam* is destroyed. An emendation of *kūṭena* to *kūṭe* would make the passage simple but beg the question.

3. *matasnī*, the stem elsewhere is *matasna*; the term is evidently synonymous with *vṛkkāu*, cf. Weber, Indische Stud., ix. 248. Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 163. 3 agrees with this view.

4. The formula *svayā tanvā* etc. does not appear to occur elsewhere. Professor Bloomfield, who was good enough to search for parallel passages among the slips of his MS. concordance, writes me that the formula at TS. iv. 3. 4. 1 (also in VS, TB, MS, and ĀpÇS) *svāsasthā tanvā sām viçasva* is the closest parallel to it.

5. For this augurium cf. Caland, p. 58, § 30, where the other passages are grouped together; the *tad enaṃ devalokaḥ pratyā-gacchati* of our text supports Caland's (p. 59 note³⁰) rendering of Ἀγν. GS. iv. 4. 2, *svargaloka enaṃ prāpad* (*svargaloka* for *-lokas*, not *-loke*). The *prajayā ca paçubhiḥ ca pratitiṣṭhati* is not found in any of the parallel passages and seems inappropriate.

The ritualistic part ends here; the rest is upaniṣad-like.

7. *√dhū* in the sense of 'to shake off, to free one's self from,' is elsewhere used in the middle, e. g. AB. iv. 24. 1 *çarīram eva*

¹ Perhaps *kūṭa* 'forehead': *kūṭa* 'hammer' :: *kiṣku* 'forearm': *kiṣku* 'handle' (helve of an axe).

tābhir (i. e. *upasadbhir*) *dhunute* ; Kāuṣ. Up. i. 4 *tat sukr̥taduṣkr̥te dhunute* [B. C. E. *dhunvate*], which the commentator illustrates by the simile *aṣva iva romāṇi kampānena*, evidently with reference to Chānd. Up. viii. 13. 1 *aṣva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpaṁ candra iva rahor mukhāt pramucya dhūtvā ṣarīram etc.*

8. I have retained the strange *apocchantī* (1.√*vas* + *apa*) *pakṣa*, but I am unable to explain the feminine form of the prior member.

9. This paragraph and the next chapter have parallels in JB. i. 18 (which is useful in constituting the text) and Kauṣ. Up. 1. 2 (on which cf. Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, xlii. (1890) p. 198–204; Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's* (1897), p. xiv and 24; Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 1897, p. 98).

Before taking up single points I give the parallel passage JB. i. 18, adding for the sake of connection, the preceding seventeenth chapter.

JB. i. 17. 1. *dve ha vāva yonī¹ devayonir hāi 'vā 'nyā manuṣyayonir anyā dvā u hāi 'va lokāu² devaloko hāi 'vā 'nyo manuṣyaloko 'nyaḥ*. 2. *sā yā manuṣyayonir manuṣyaloka eva sa tat³ striyāi prajāna-nam ato 'dhi⁴ prajāḥ prajāyante*. 3. *tasmād u kalyāṇīm⁵ jāyām iccheta kalyāṇo⁶ ma ātmā sambhavād⁷ iti. tasmād u jāyām jugupsen⁸ nen mama yonāu mama loka 'nyas sambhavād iti*. 4. *tasya vāi sambhaviṣyataḥ prāṇā agre⁹ praviṣanty atha retas sicyate. sa imān prāṇān¹⁰ ākācān abhinivartate tasmād u samānasyāi 'va retasas sato yādṛca eva bhavati tādṛco jāyate*. 5. *tathāi 'śā deva-yonir devalokaḥ. yad āhavanīya eṣā ha¹¹ vāi¹² devayonir devalokaḥ. tasmād yo gārhapatyē juhuyād atra¹³ taṁ karotī 'ty evāi 'nam¹⁴ manyeran*. 6. *sa yaj juhōti yas sādhu¹⁵ karoty etasyām evāi 'tad devayonāv ātmānam siñcati so 'syā 'tmā 'muṣmīn āditye sambha-vati sa hāi 'vaṁ vidvān dvyaṭmā dviyonir ekātmā hāi 'vāi 'kayonir etad avidvān*. 7. *sa yasmād lokād evaṁvit prāiti—*

i. 18. 1. *tasya prāṇaḥ prathama utkrāmati. sa hāi 'va¹⁶ devebhya ācaṣṭa¹⁷ iyad asya sādhu kṛtam iyat pāpam iti. atha hā 'yaṁ dhumena saho 'rdhva utkrāmati*. 2. *tasya hāi 'tasya rtavo dvāra-pās tebhyo hāi 'tena prabruvīta*.

*vīcakṣanād ṛtavo reta ābhṛtam
ardhamāsyam¹⁷ prasutāt¹⁸ pītryāvataḥ.
tam mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam¹⁹
puṁsaḥ kartur²⁰ mātary āsiṣikta²¹
sa upajāya²² upajāyamāno
dvādaṣena trayodaṣopomāsaḥ.*

¹ -ṣ. ² B. C. -e. ³ A. *tataṁ* ; B. C. *taṁ*. ⁴ A. inserts *ka* ; B. *kaḥ*.

⁵ A. *ka* (lacuna) *nīm*. ⁶ -e. ⁷ B. *sambharāghād*. ⁸ A. -aṇ.

⁹ All MSS. have the sandhi *prāṇā 'gre*. ¹⁰ A. *prākā*. ¹¹ A. B. *bha*.

¹² A. B. *ve*. ¹³ B. C. *arku*. ¹⁴ B. 'ran.

¹⁵ For *hāi 'va* A. B. have *he yatta* ; C. *hāi dvā*. ¹⁶ A. *kuaṣṭa*.

¹⁷ A. *addhamāsaṁ* ; B. C. *arddhyamāsam*. ¹⁸ C. -sūt- ; B. -tāva.

¹⁹ A. *or*-. ²⁰ All MSS. *karttar*. ²¹ B. C. -tas.

²² The sandhi in all MSS. is -jāyo 'pa-.

sañ¹ tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta hā "gatam² ma³ ṛtava
'mṛtam⁴ ānayadhvam iti. 3. tañ ha ṛtava ānayante yathā vidvān
avidvāṃsañ⁵ yathā jānann⁶ ajānantam⁷ evaṃ hāi 'nam ṛtava
ānayante. tañ hā 'tyarjayante.⁸ 4. sa hāi 'tam āgacchati tapan-
tam. 5. tañ⁹ hā "gatañ prcchati kaś tvam aśi 'ti. sa yo ha
nāmnā vā gotreṇa vā prabrūte tañ hā "ha yas te 'yam mayy ātmā
'bhūd eṣa te sa iti. 6. tasmin hā "tman pratipattam ṛtavas¹⁰ sañ-
palāyya padgrhītam apakarṣanti. tasya hā 'horātre lokam āpnu-
taḥ. 7. tasmā u hāi 'tena prabruvita¹¹ ko 'ham asmi suvas tvam.
sa tvāñ svargyañ svar agām iti. 8. ko ha vāi prajāpatir atha
hāi 'vañvid eva suvargaḥ. sa hi suvar gacchati. 9. tañ hā "ha
yas tvam aśi so 'ham asmi yo 'hām asmi sa tvam aśy eñi 'ti. 10.
sa etam eva sukṛtarasam¹² apyēti. tasya putrā dāyam upayanti
pitaras sādhuḥkṛtyām. sa hāi 'vañ vidvān dvyaṭmā dvidāya ekāt-
mā hāi 'vāi 'kadāya etad avidvān agnihotrañ juhōti.

17. 1. "Verily there are two wombs, the one the divine womb, the other the human womb; and, indeed, there are two worlds also, the one the divine world, the other the human world. 2. What this human womb is, that is the human world. That is the secret part of woman; from thence progeny is born. 3. Therefore one should desire an excellent wife [thinking:] 'Let an excellent (second) self of me come into existence.' And therefore one should seek to guard¹³ one's wife [thinking:] 'Lest in my womb, in my world another (self) come into existence.' 4. Verily of him being about to come into existence the breaths enter first; then the seed is emitted. He returns these breaths (to the?) spaces; and therefore of its being similar seed, whichever kind it (the seed) may be, such a one is born. 5. Thus also this divine womb is the divine world. What the āhavanīya [-fire] is, that indeed is the divine womb, the divine world. Therefore who should make oblation in the gārhapatya [-fire], of him they would think: 'He maketh him there.' 6. In that he makes oblation, in that he does good, he thereby emits the self into this divine womb. That self of his comes into existence in yonder sun. He knowing thus has two selves, two wombs; verily one self, one womb has he who does not know this. 7. If from this world one knowing thus departs—

18. 1. —his breath goes up first. That explains to the gods: so much good was done by him, so much evil. Then along with the

¹ All MSS. *samañ*.

² B.C. only *m*.

³ All MSS. *mā*; C. inserts '*dya*. ⁴ A.B. *mṛta*. ⁵ All MSS. *vid*.

⁶ A. *jānan*; B.C. *-ñ*. ⁷ So A; B.C. *jan*.

⁸ A. *tyajajayantes*; C. *tysarjjayante*.

⁹ For the next few lines C. is utterly corrupt and I have not noted the var. lect. (cf. JAOS. xvi. 239).

¹⁰ A. *tavas*. ¹¹ A. *-brav*. ¹² A. *sañk*.

¹³ The usual meaning of the desiderative of *√gup*, viz., 'avoid,' does not fit here.

smoke he goes up. 2. Of this same one the seasons are door-keepers. To them he should make answer thus : ' O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the Fathers. Make me, as such, arise in a man as the maker. From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother. As such am I reborn, being born anew, through the twelvefold one as the thirteenth, intercalary month. Of this am I aware ; this have I ascertained. Come, ye seasons, lead me the immortal who have come.' 3. Him the seasons lead. As one who knows one who does not know, as one who understands one who does not understand even so the seasons lead him. They bring him across. 4. He approaches him who burns. 5. Him¹, having come, he asks : ' Who art thou ? ' When he announces himself either by his [personal] name or by his family [name], he says to him : ' This self of thee that hath been in me that same is thine.' 6. Him having hastened into this self, when² about to escape the seasons grasping his foot, drag away. Of him day and night obtain the world. 7. To him he should make answer thus : ' Who (*ka*) am I, heaven art thou. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven.' 8. Verily Prajāpati is who (*ka*), and he who knows thus is heaven-going. For he goes to heaven. 9. He says to him : ' Who thou art, that one am I ; who I am, that one art thou ; come ! ' 10. He approaches this sap of good deeds. His sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon good conduct. One knowing thus offers the agnihotra having two selves, two inheritances ; he who does not know thus (offers it) having one self, one inheritance."

I now proceed to take up single points in order.

JB. 1. 49. 9. The conjecture *ṛtūnām* is based on the vocatives and nominative *ṛtavaḥ* which follow in 50. 1, 2. and JB. i. 18. 2 *ṛtavo dvārapāḥ*.

50. 1. In constituting the text of the stanza I have kept as closely as possible to the MS. reading. Accordingly *ardhamāsyam*³ in verse 2 must be taken as qualifying *retas* ; the Kāuṣ. Up. has *pañcadaṣāt* instead.—*prasutāt* is taken in the active sense ('zeugend') by Boehtlingk, for which AV. xii. 1. 62 is cited in PW. Though the active seems to be favored in this latter passage by the context, Bloomfield translates it there as past ptp. The passage here is too obscure to admit of a definite conclusion. There may be a pun between *√su* 'press' and *√su* 'beget.'—*vicakṣaṇa* as epithet of the soma is common in RV. The explanation of the Brāhmaṇa does not favor Deussen's interpretation of *pitryāvataḥ* as neuter sing.—In verse 3 Deussen conjectures *āirayadhvam*, but the context seems to

¹ §§ 5 ff. are identical with JUB. iii. 14. 1 (cf. JAOS. xvi. 173 and 239).

² Cf. Roth's emendation of JUB. iii. 14. 2 in the Proceedings of April 1895 (= Journal xvii. p. ccxliii).

³ *sy* from *s* is a very slight change in this alphabet.

me to favor imperatives.—In verse 4 Kauṣ. Up. reads *puṁsā kartrā*.—I have hesitatingly accepted the reading *āsiṣikta*. If this reading is correct, it might be taken as a perfect imperative (Whitney, § 813), or as an imperative of a reduplicated aorist without thematic vowel (Whitney, § 867) and with irregular reduplication after analogy of the reduplicating presents; for the grammarians demand *asīṣicat* (Whitney, Verb-Forms *vsic.*)¹ The sandhi at 50. 1 and the reading of B.C. at 18. 2 (*-tas*) pointing to a past ptcp. (in which case a change to *mātary* (read *-i*) *āsiktaḥ* becomes necessary) may be merely an attempt to correct an unintelligible form.—By reading *upajāya* in verse 5 for *jāya* of the Kāuṣ. Up. the metre is restored.—In verse 6 even the two JB. versions differ, the one reading *trayodaṣena dvādaṣopamāsaḥ*, the other *dvādaṣena trayodaṣopamāsaḥ*, while Kāuṣ. Up. has *dvādaṣatrayodaṣa upamāso*² *dvādaṣatrayodaṣena pitrā*. The first reading seems to me the easiest, viz. ‘I come into existence through (the year of) thirteen months as the (intercalary) month added to the twelfth (month).’—*saṁ tad vīde* etc. bears out one of the most brilliant emendations of Boehtlingk.

2. The change to *avidvāṁsam* and *ajānantam* seemed to be demanded by the sense.

3. *manojavaśaḥ* i. e. *Yamasya*, as at VS. v. 11 *manojavās tvā pītṛbhir dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* with the Commentator.

5. Cf. Journal, xviii. 46; no. xi. 1. for a parallel passage from the Cāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

III. Indrasya kilbiṣāṇi.

§ 1. When Indra, in consequence of the guilt incurred through the murder of Viṣvarūpa and Vṛtra, has fled from heaven, the gods choose Nahuṣa as Indra’s successor. But intoxicated with his newly acquired power, the latter gives himself up to carnal pleasures, and even lusts after Indra’s wife Çacī. And when the gods attempt to dissuade him from his evil plans by expatiating on the sinfulness of his acts, he justifies himself by a reference to Indra’s record (MBh. v. 11. 4 ff.):

*evam ukto na jagrāha tad vacaḥ kāmamohitaḥ.
atha devān uvāce ’dam indram prati surādhipaḥ:
ahalyā dharṣitā pūrvam ṛṣipatnī yaçasvinī
jīvato bhartur indreṇa. sa vaḥ kiṁ na nivāritāḥ.
bahūni ca nṛgaṁsāni kṛtāni ’ndreṇa vāi purā
vāidharmyāṇy upadhāç cāi’va. sa vaḥ kiṁ na nivāritāḥ.*

“Thus addressed (by the gods), he, blinded by passion, did not take to heart their words. But the great lord of the gods spoke

¹ Deussen takes it as indicat. of the aorist, changing to *āsiṣikta*.

² Var. lect. *dvādaṣatrayodaṣo māso*.

thus to the gods with reference to Indra : 'While her husband was yet alive, Ahalyā the renowned wife of a ṛṣi, was formerly ravished by Indra. Why did you not restrain him ? And many deeds were formerly committed by Indra, harmful to men and unrighteous, besides deceitful tricks. Why did you not restrain him ?' " Again MBh. xiii. 40 f. relates at great length the precautions which the ṛṣi Devaçarman must take in order to protect during his absence his wife Ruci against Indra, *purāṇdaram ca jānūte parastrīkāmācārīnam* ; and Devaçarman's faithful pupil Vipula taunts Indra (41. 20) in the most scathing terms with his former experience when he suffered for a similar attempt on Ahalyā. Similar references to Indra's immorality are not rare in the epic (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 293 f.). Nor must these traits in Indra's character be regarded as late developments of a degenerating mythology. There is ample proof that they go back to the Brāhmaṇa period, and evidence that they antedate even this. If the Vedic hymns offer but little material of this kind, this fact is simply due to the character of these poems. They are invocations and songs of praise—*naḥī nv āsya mahi-mānam indriyān svār grṇānta ānaśūh* (RV. viii. 3. 13)—in which allusions of this sort would be manifestly out of place. An argumentum ex silentio would therefore here be patently wrong.¹ Although Bharadvāja calls Indra *ādroughavāca* (RV. vi. 22. 2), the Vedic poets were certainly not ignorant of such examples of Indra's bad faith as Ludwig² and Bloomfield³ have collected. It seems evident that such legends as these form the background for an occasional general allusion to Indra's fickleness like RV. vi. 47. 16 ; 17 . . . *anyām-anyam atinenīyāmānaḥ* . . . *pārā pūrveṣāṃ sakhyā vṛṇakti vitārturāṇo āparebhīr eti*,⁴ "wont

¹ The very fact that the hymns so frequently mention Indra's indulgence in soma (e. g. RV. vii. 22. 2, *yās te mādō yūjyaḥ cārur āsti yēna vṛtrāṇi haryaḥva hāṁsi sá tvām indra prabhūvaso mamattu* ; viii. 32. 28, *yó viṣvāny abhi vratā sōmasya mādē āndhasaḥ indro devēṣu cetati* ; viii. 15. 4, *tām te mādāṃ grṇīmasi*, etc.) is to my mind conclusive evidence that it was not regarded by the poets as 'drunkenness,' or in any way blameworthy, *mādē hi śmā dādāti naḥ* (RV. viii. 1. 21).

² Commentary, vol. vi, p. 202, s. v. 'wortbruch Indra's' and 'adroha.'

³ Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 161, AJPh. xvii. 433, and Atharva Translation, SBE. xlii. 522.

⁴ Cf. the close parallel in Goethe's Iphigenie, vss. 1754 ff., Es wenden die Herrscher | Ihr segnendes Auge | Von ganzen Geschlechtern | Und meiden im Enkel | Die eh'mals geliebten | Still redenden Züge | Des Ahnherrn zu sehn.

to help on now the one now the other . . . he turneth away from his old friends and, changing,¹ goeth with new ones."

On the other hand Indra's sensuality is amply exemplified in the legend of Dīrghajihvī (MS. iii. 10. 6; AB. ii. 22. 10; TMB. xiii. 6. 9, 10; JB. i. 161-163; Schol. to Pāṇini iv. 1. 59),² and the similar story at KB. xxiii. 4 with its parallel Kāth. xiii. 5 (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* iii. 479 note; v. 453), which latter is connected by Weber (*Ind. Stud.* v. 249) and Bloomfield (SBE. xlii. 547) with AV. vii. 38. 2. The antiquity of the Ahalyā story (of which the epic is so fond) is assured by the reference to it in the *subrahmaṇyā* formula.³ Equally old is the motif of Kāth. xiii. 5. As Indra there lives disguised as a woman among the Asurīs, so he lives in female shape in Vṛṣaṇaḡva's family (cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 34). In the Rīgveda itself Indra's epithet *sāhasramuṣka* clearly belongs here, and is illustrated by Sāyana (on RV. vi. 46. 3)⁴ by this citation from the Kāuṣītakins: '*yām kām ca striyam saṁbhavann indro bhogalolupatayā svaḡarīre parvaṇi-parvaṇi ḡephān sasarja.*'⁵

§ 2. Aside however from these and other occasional references, there are in the Brāhmaṇas a number of parallel passages in which a formal indictment, as it were, is drawn up against Indra. The type of these is AB. vii. 28, *yatre 'ndraṁ devatāḡ paryavṛñjan viṣvarūpaṁ tvāṣṡtram abhyamaṁsta vrtram aṣṡṡta yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah prādād arurmaghān avadhīd brhaspateḡ pratyavadhīd iti tatṡe 'ndraḡ somapīthena vyārdhyata*, etc.; "When the gods shunned Indra, saying: 'He hath intrigued against Viḡvarūpa, Tvaṣṡṡ's son; he hath slain Vṛtra; he hath given the Yatīs to the sālāvṛka-wolves; he hath killed the Arurmaghas; he hath interrupted Brhaspati,' then was Indra excluded from the soma-draught." A similar list of misdeeds is boastingly enumerated by Indra himself at Kāus. Up. iii. 1, *triḡṡrāṇaṁ tvāṣṡtram ahanam arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah prāyaccham bahvīḡ saṁdhā atikramya divi prahlādiyān*

¹ *vitārturāṇah* = *vitārturām*, RV. i. 102. 2.

² A fuller treatment of this will appear elsewhere.

³ Cf. Weber, *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1887, ii. p. 908 f.; and the JB. text published in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 34 ff.

⁴ At RV. viii. 19. 32 he takes *muṣkāni* = *tejāṁsi*, but apparently for no other reason than that the epithet there appears in an Agni-hymn.

⁵ Cf. also Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 38 (on RV. x. 86. 9) on Indra's marital relations.

atrnam aham antarikṣe pāulomān prthivyām kālakāñjān; ¹ “I killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭr; I gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; transgressing many a covenant I smote in heaven the Prahlādiyas, in the atmosphere the Pāulomas, on earth the Kālakāñjas”; and at least two counts are given in Čānkh. ĆS. xiv. 50. 1-2, *indro vāi triçirṣāṇaṁ tvāṣṭram ahanat. arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah prāyacchat. taṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny abhyakroçan*; “Indra killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭr, he gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves. At him all creatures were wroth.”

To these must now be added the chapters from the JB. which I subjoin.

JB. ii. 134 *indran vāi bhūtāni paryacakṣata triçirṣāṇaṁ² tvāṣṭram avadhīd yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah³ prādād arurmukhān⁴ avadhīd bṛhaspatēḥ pratyavadhīt saṁdhām saṁhitām atītya namucēr āsurasya çirah prāçhāitsīd iti. etebhyo devakīlbiṣebhyas⁵ sa hā'raṇya eva cacārā'nabhyavayan devān. sa u ha devān uvāca yājayata me 'ti. ne 'ti ho 'cur etā vāi tvayā saṁdhā atītā etāni devakīlbiṣān⁶ kṛtāni na tvā yājayisyāma iti. atho⁷ hā 'syā 'gnir eva sakhitama⁸ ivā "sa. deveṣu sa u hā 'gnim uvāca tvam mā yājaye 'ti. tathe 'ti ho 'vāca sa vāi nu taṁ deveṣu icchāmi⁹ yena tvā saha yājayeyam iti. sa ha taṁ deveṣu na viveda yenāi 'naṁ sahā 'yājayisyat. sa ho 'vāca na¹⁰ vāi nu¹¹ taṁ deveṣu vindāmi yena tvā saha yājayeyam iti. taṁ vāi mā tvam eva yājaye 'ti. tathe 'ti. so 'gnir¹² ātmanāi 'vā "rdhyata.¹³ tam agniṣṭutam atanuta. tenāi 'nam ayājayat. tasya sadyas sarvaṁ pāpmānaṁ¹⁴ niradahat. sa yathā 'hīr ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād¹⁵ iṣikāṁ¹⁶ vivṛhed evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmano nīramucyeta. sa eṣo 'pahatapāpmā tapaty eṣa ha vā indrah.¹⁷ sa ya uktoktas¹⁸ syād yo 'bhyākhyāyeta sa etena yajeta. sadyo¹⁹ hāi 'vā 'sya sarvaṁ pāpmānaṁ²⁰ nīrdahati²¹ sa yathā 'hīr ahicchavyāi nīrmucyeta yathā muñjād iṣikāṁ vivṛhed evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmano nīrmucyate.*

¹ B. C. and Sāyaṇa on RV. v. 34. 4 *kālakāñjān*; D. *kālakāñjān*; F. *kālakāñjān*.

² All MSS. -*çirṣāṇaṁ*. ³ D. *sāl-*. ⁴ A. *arūrjakhān*. ⁵ All MSS. -*kitbiṣ-*.

⁶ All MSS. -*kitb-*; D. -*bisṇā-*. ⁷ D. -*ā-*. ⁸ A. -*ta-*. ⁹ A. *acha-*. ¹⁰ A. *ra-*.

¹¹ A. *na*. ¹² A. D. -*im*; H. -*ir*. ¹³ A. *ātmana evā ddheta*; D. H. *ātmana evā dāhyeta*. ¹⁴ A. -*pmān-*. ¹⁵ A. *mañ-*. ¹⁶ A. *irṣvamkāma*.

¹⁷ A. *ñmañdras*. ¹⁸ A. *uttottara*. ¹⁹ All insert *ha*.

²⁰ D. *pāpmānagniṁ*; hence possibly *pāpmānam agnir* should be read.

²¹ All *nīdadhā*.

“The creatures condemned Indra, saying: ‘He hath killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭar, he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves, he hath killed the Arurmukhas, he hath interrupted¹ Br̥haspati, transgressing the covenant he had covenanted he cut off the head of the Asura Namuci.’ From these sins against the gods he walked away into the forest not descending (?)² to the gods. He said to the gods: ‘Perform a sacrifice for me.’ ‘No,’ they said, ‘these agreements thou hast transgressed, thou hast committed those sins against the gods. We will not perform a sacrifice for thee.’ Now, Agni might have been called his best friend; so among the gods he spoke to Agni: ‘Sacrifice for me.’ ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘but I desire some one among the gods with whom I may sacrifice for thee.’ He did not find any one among the gods with whom he might have sacrificed for him. He said: ‘I cannot find any one among the gods with whom I might sacrifice for thee.’ ‘Then do thou alone sacrifice for me.’ ‘Yes.’ Agni by himself succeeded. He performed this *agniṣṭut*. With that he sacrificed for him. With it he at once burnt away all his (Indra’s) evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull the blade of the reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he got rid of all his evil.³ He burns having cast off all evil. For this is Indra. If one should be much talked about,⁴ if they should reproach him, he should sacrifice with this (*agniṣṭut*). At once he burns off all his evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull a blade of reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he gets rid of all evil.”

Probably Sāyaṇa is quite right in connecting RV. v. 34. 4,

¹ *br̥haspater avadhīt = br̥haspater vācam avadhīt*, cf. AB. vi. 33. 4, also ‘*bhūr yo me vācam avadhīh*. The Commentator on AB. vii. 28 glosses: *svaguror br̥haspater vākyaṃ svakīyena vākyaena pratyavadhīt. so ‘yam pratighāto na yuktaḥ tathā cā ‘pastambāḥ smarati: vākyaena vākyaṣya pratighātam ācāryasya varjayec chreyasām ce ‘ti*. It is ‘interrupt’ rather than ‘contradict.’

² Professor Bloomfield suggests *anubhāvayan* as a possible conjecture.

³ For the comparisons cf. JB. 1. 9, *sa yathā ‘hīr ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād iṣikāṃ vivṛhed evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate ya evaṃ vidvān agnihotraṃ juhōti*; Kāṭh. Up. ii. 6. 17, *aṅguṣṭa-mātraḥ puruṣo ‘ntarātmā | sadā janānām hṛdaye saṁnivīṣṭaḥ | taṁ svāc charīrāt pravṛhet | muñjād ive ‘ṣikāṃ dhāīryena*; BAU (ed. Böhtlingk) iv. 4. 10, *taḍ yathā ‘hinirvlayani valmike mṛtā pratyastā çayitāi ‘vam eve ‘daṁ çarīraṁ çete* (= ÇB. xiv. 7. 2. 10).

⁴ *vac* in the bad sense of *nid*, cf. RV. vii. 31. 5, *mā no nidē ca vāktave ‘r̥yō randhīr drāve*.

yāsyā 'vadhūt pitāraṁ yāsyā mātāram
 yāsyā ṣakrō bhrātaraṁ nā 'ta īṣate
 vētī 'd v asya prāyatā yataṁkarō
 nā kilbiṣād īṣate vāsava ākarāḥ,

with the Brahmana stories just quoted. The thought is clear : The Valiant One does not flee even from him whose father or mother or brother he has slain ; even of one thus offended he demands offerings ; nay even from guilt does the Collector of Wealth not shrink. Sāyaṇa glosses : *kilbiṣāt pitrādivadhayuktān' ne* "ṣate na calati na bibheti vā. *indrasyā 'stotṛṇām hatir indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchad antarikṣe² pāulomān prthivyaṁ kālakāṅjyān arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyaccham ityādi śrutīṣu prasiddhā.*

§ 3. Of the legends referred to in the above indictment, that of the Yatis is frequently and variously related in the Brāhmaṇas. Most of the passages have already been collected by Weber in his note on AV. ii. 27. 5 (*Ind. Stud.* xiii. 191) viz. AB. vii. 28 ; TS. vi. 2. 7. 5 ; TMB. viii. 1. 4 ; xiii. 4. 16 ; xiv. 11. 28 ; xviii. 1. 9 ; xix. 4. 7 ; Kāth. viii. 5 ; xi. 10 ; xxv. 6 ; xxxvi. 7 (in *Ind. Stud.* iii. 465) Ṣāṅkh. ṢS. xiv. 50. 2. To these may be added TS. ii. 4. 9. 2 ; MS. i. 10. 12, p. 152 ; and JB. i. 185 which runs as follows :

trāikakubham annādyakāmaḥ kurvīta. indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat.³ teṣāṁ⁴ adyamānānām trayāḥ kumārāḥ⁵ paryaciṣyanta rāyovajāḥ prthuraṣmī⁶ brhadgiriḥ. ta⁴ indram astuvan. tān⁷ abravīt kiṁkāmā mā kumārās stuthe⁸ 'ti.⁴ bibhṛhy eva no maghavann⁹ ity abruvan. tān antarā 'nsayor¹⁰ adhyāsyata. tā asya tisraḥ kakubho 'lambanta. ime vāi lokās saha santas tredhā vyāyan.¹¹ tāns tredhā¹² 'nnādyam anuvyāit. ta u eṣāṁ trayāṇām lokānām tisraḥ¹³ kakubho 'nnādyam¹⁴ alambanta.¹⁵ sa āikṣatāi¹⁶ "ṣām ced vāi trayāṇām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam¹² avarundhīya¹⁷ tene 'mās tisraḥ kakubho 'pahareye¹⁸ 'ti. sa¹⁹ etat . . .

¹ Cf. RV. iv. 18. 12, *kās te mātāraṁ vidhāvām acakrat* ; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 51.

² He quotes here (evidently from memory, hence the transposition) the passage Kāuṣ. Up. iii. 1.

³ C. *prāciṣā*. ⁴ C. om. ⁵ C. *kām-*. ⁶ A. *prathuraṣmī* ; C. *prathar-aṣmī*. ⁷ A. *tār*. ⁸ C. *stuṣetharī*. ⁹ C. *mavya-*. ¹⁰ C. *'nsaṁyor*.

¹¹ A. *vāyaṁs*. ¹² A. *tresā* ; C. *tredhāyā*. ¹³ C. om. ¹⁴ C. *'nnādyakāmam*.

¹⁵ A. *avāḷamb-*. ¹⁶ C. *āikṛte*. ¹⁷ A. *avāruṇḍha*. ¹⁸ A. *avāharata*.

¹⁹ This whole sentence to 'pāharata is wanting in A.

*çyaktenā*¹ 'stuta tenāi 'śām trayānām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam avārundhata² tene³ 'mās tisraḥ kakubho 'pāharata.⁴ tad yad eśām trayānām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam avārundhata⁵ [tat] trāikakubhasya trāikakubhatvam.⁶ tad etad annādyasyā 'varuddhisāma.⁷ avā 'nnādyam runddhe⁸ 'nnādyasreṣṭhas svānām bhavati ya evaṁ veda.

186. āindriyaṁ vā etat sāma. āindratṛcaḥ.⁹ āindrasāma.¹⁰ indra iti nidhanam bhavati. trīṇi puruṣa¹¹ indriyāṇy ātmā prajāḥ paçavaḥ. tāny evāi 'tenā 'tman¹² parigrhṇite. tām abravīt kīmkāmo vā¹³ ekaḥ kīmkāma ekaḥ¹⁴ kīmkāma¹⁴ eka¹⁴ iti. so 'bravīd rāyovājaḥ paçukāmo¹⁵ 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi ilām prāyacchat. paçavo vā ilā. athā 'bravīt prthuraçmiḥ kṣatrakāmo 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi kṣatram¹⁶ prāyacchat. sa eva prthur¹⁷ vāinyah. athā 'bravīd bṛhadgīrī¹⁸ annādyakāmo 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmā atha kāmam prāyacchat.

"He who desires food should use the trāikakubha-sāman. Indra gave the Yatis over to the sālāvṛka-wolves. While they were being eaten, three boys were left, Rāyovāja, Prthuraçmi, and Bṛhadgiri. They praised Indra. He said to them: 'With what wish, O boys, do you praise me?' 'Support us, O Bounteous one,' they said. He threw them over his shoulders. They clung to his three points.¹⁹ Verily these worlds which had been together separated in three parts. In connection with these [worlds] food also separated in three parts. And they clung to the three points of these worlds, to food. He considered: 'If I should obtain the three points of these three worlds, food, I should thereby carry off these three points.' He thus praised with the . . . çyakta-[sāman]. With it he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food; with it he carried off these three points. Because he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food, that is the reason for calling it the trāikakubha-[sāman]. That same is the sāman for the obtainment of

¹ C. eta (space) çyak-. ² C. avarundhīyate. ³ C. tenā. ⁴ C. harata.

⁵ A. C. avār-. ⁶ C. trekakubhaṭtvam.

⁷ A. varuddhīsa-; C. varundhīsā-.

⁸ A. avarundhe.

⁹ A. āindrīr iti ca; C. āindrītṛcaḥ.

¹⁰ C. āindrām s-.

¹¹ C. puṣṭapuṣa.

¹² A. smātman.

¹³ C. vaḥ.

¹⁴ C. om.

¹⁵ A. paçvak-.

¹⁶ C. kṣetra-.

¹⁷ A. prathar; C. prathur.

¹⁸ C. -gīram.

¹⁹ This, and what follows it not quite clear to me. The Commentator to TMB. viii. 1. 4. glosses the parallel passage by svakakupsv adhīndhāya.

food. He obtains food, he excels his own (people) in food who knows thus.

186. And this *sāman* also pertains to the powers (*indriya*). It is Indra's triplet. It is Indra's *sāman*. Its *nidhana* is 'Indra.' There are three powers in man : the self, offspring, cattle. These same he thereby encompasses within himself. He said to them : 'What does the first wish ? what the second ? what the third ?' Rāyovāja said : 'I desire cattle.' He gave to him the *ilā*. For the *ilā* is cattle. Again Pṛthuraçmi said : 'I desire nobility.' He gave to him nobility. He is Pṛthu Vāinya. Again Brhadgiri said : 'I desire food.' He gave him his wish."

This is clearly an elaboration of the legend in TMB. xiii. 4, 16 (and also very briefly told at viii. 1. 4.), *indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat. teṣāṃ traya udaçīsyanta pṛthuraçmīr bṛhadgīrī rāyovājāḥ. te 'bruvan ko na imān putrān bhariṣyati' ti. aham itī 'ndro 'bravīt. tān adhinidhāya' paricāry acarad' vardhayaṅs tān vardhayitvā 'bravīt kumārakā varān vṛṇidhvam iti. kṣatram mahyam ity abravīt pṛthuraçmīh. tasmā etena pāṛthuraçmena' kṣatram prāyacchat. kṣatrakāma etena' stuvīta ksatrasye 'vā 'sya prakāḥo bhavati. brahmavarcasam mahyam ity abravīt bṛhadgīrīh. tasmā etena bārhadgīreṇa' brahmavarcasam prāyacchat. brahmavarcasakāma etena stuvīta brahmavarcasī bhavati. paçūn mahyam ity abravīt rāyovājāḥ. tasmā etena rāyovājīyena' paçūn prāyacchat. paçukāma etena stuvīta paçumān bhavati.*

The shorter passage (viii. 1. 4) introduces the story exactly like the longer versions just quoted. But after *aham itī 'ndro 'bravīt* it continues : *tāṅs trikakub adhinidhāyā 'carat. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat. yat trikakub apaçyat tasmāt trāikakubham.* The

Commentator glosses : *trikakup* by *tryucchritapradeṣa āsan svakakupsv adhinidhāya* ; which is quite similar to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the same word at RV. i. 121. 4, *trikakup triṣu lokeṣū 'cchrita indrah.*⁵

¹ Commentary glosses *rathe āropya* ; but it evidently corresponds to the *antarā 'nsayor adhyāsyata* of the JB. version.

² The text of the *Bibl. Indica* reads *paricāryy acarān* ; but a 3d pers. sing. is wanted. Its force is that of an auxiliary with the participle following, cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* p. 390. The Comment. has : *vardhayan poṣayan, paryacaran* (!) *paricaryām kṛtāvān, evam vardhayitvā punar abravīt* ; where *paryacaran* clearly stands for -at.

³ Comm. supplies *sāmnā*.

⁴ Comm. supplies *parthuraçmena brahmasāmnā*.

⁵ Elsewhere he usually glosses *kakubh* by *diç*.